

609, 123

Indonesia OB1

Borneo OC1

Land Dyak OC8

Flores OF9

●Makassar OG6

Sadang OG8

Ambon OH4

Ceram OH9

/For data on the reception of the foreign traveler, investigator or author by the local people, see also category 574. /

/v cont. /

• [123] I enjoyed in their domain. I should especially mention the kinsmen of the last-mentioned adat community head, Messrs. Manggaukang Daëng Kulle and Galasi Daëng Kio', in whose houses I was allowed to stay regularly. I cherish memories of many evenings spent pleasantly with them.

I always think back with the greatest pleasure to my collaboration with the assistant to the government linguist, /vi/ Mr. Abdurrahim. It is his great knowledge of matters concerning the kin group /familie/ to which I am largely indebted for my improved understanding of the Makassarese group of relatives /verwante groep/.

With respect to the postwar period, I owe special thanks to Professor G. J. Held, both for the fact that he obtained official support for me to gather the necessary material in an area already familiar to me, as well as for his critical and constructive comments after he had read the manuscript.

123 Finally I thank my wife, who followed me with our daughter to Borongloë, both for her assistance during the field work, when her contacts with the women of the vicinity provided me with data concerning this group that would otherwise have escaped me, as well as for her help in correcting proof. /vii/

121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation"
631 in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those
565 concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar
investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese
themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the
province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community
where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and
his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without in-
curring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of
failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his
domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large
part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants.
Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which,
from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A
highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every
investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those
who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might
be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further
565 suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the
671 little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie
of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man
of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from
the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who
would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent.
He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relation-
ship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the
latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely
[121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because
Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it
agreed that I should live elsewhere.

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/For a reproduction of the schedule employed by Raymond Kennedy on his 1949-50 field trip to various areas of Indonesia, see 3: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, category 116, pp. 230-241. /

121 /5 cont. / The head of the adat community of Borongloë,
[631] one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed
the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree
to the choice of this adat community of around 14,000 indi-
viduals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable;
since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant
impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a
circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and
finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region
there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently
create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

● 123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the
kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with
great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier
between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible
sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam
through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and
[621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was
introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat com-
munity in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received
a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage
that there could be no question of regular daily conversations
of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which
this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other
underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin
group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not
till then did the important position that the group of relatives
/ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of
higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me.
Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer
analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be
considered for this purpose.

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility
166 which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] Living Conditions

[62] Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
● 123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

123 /8 cont./ one in a modern city where an investigation is carried out. As far as obtaining writing materials, medicine, photographic materials, and the like is concerned, the difficulties are inconsiderable. But the manner of living, as always, presents challenges. A house of one's own has the advantage of privacy. But there is no empty house to be found in the kampong. To have one constructed meets with objections: it costs extra work and extra money, since building, after all, is not only a question of materials, manpower, and technology, but also one of organization. When I was by myself I always stayed with the head of the adat community in his kampong, or else with my most important informant in Bontoramba.

Being a guest has the advantage that it is easier to provide for oneself. I always ate the menu of my host. During the month of fasting I received a meal apart. Payment for lodgings is never possible; presents are understood; medicine, kajuputih oil, periodicals with illustrations, and photos of members of the household were always welcome as such. There was always room for a cot with a mosquito net, as well as for a writing table and chair; an enclosure created a mandi /bathing/ place and a toilet. Taking lodgings has the further advantage that one takes part in the life of the household without having been expressly invited.

[562] I lived in a house of my own with my wife and daughter for a brief period before the war. In a society such as the one I was dealing with, possessing, as it does, a strict separation of the sexes, I repeatedly obtained data from my wife which otherwise would decidedly have escaped me.

/9/ The lack of privacy is one of the reasons why life in the kampong is extremely tiring for the investigator. It is quite possible to abandon habits if one only knows which. But whoever believes that he can then go on living without adat is in error. To find out the sensitive points is one of the most important activities of the first period, and during the first few weeks it is advisable, therefore, not to do much else but

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

554 As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar
576 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassar in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

517 Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud
555 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I
123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I
574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls
562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as
576 greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassar does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

576. /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

● 123 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a
576 festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that
[264] hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed
514] with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it
[576] difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular
[166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

●123 /11 cont./ same host. Each time it struck me again how much easier help was during the first few days compared with the last.

The kampong survey always furnished me with more than one informant per house.

/12/ Language of Communication

De Josselin de Jong has written that the investigator who contents himself with collecting information in a language different from that spoken in the region will remain an "amateurish outsider" in the society who will never be taken completely seriously by his informants (1). The judgment

1. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong,
Studies in Indonesian Culture,
Ch. I, "Oirata, a Timorese
settlement on Kisar,"
Amsterdam, 1937, p. 2.

sounds harsh; in my experience it is all too just. But in a country where ethnology has developed from linguistics and where several linguists are at work who -- the ethnologists cannot be thankful enough for this -- concern themselves regularly with ethnographic investigations, it must be stressed that for the ethnologist the language is not a goal but a means, albeit an essential means, and that therefore in learning the language it is not necessary to strive for perfection but for a maximum of effectiveness in the briefest possible time.

Firth writes that, equipped with summary data concerning the language of the district where he was going to work, he was able to make himself understood sufficiently for his purpose after two to three months (2). Du Bois seems to have required

2. R. Firth, Malay Fishermen:
Their Peasant Economy, London,
1946, p. 314.

oo /12 cont./ from three to four months for her purposes on Alor (3).

3. C. Du Bois, People of Alor, 1944.

123 The period of around three months needed for "learning" a language seems ridiculously brief. It just depends on what one means by this. My experience has been that the minimum demand which may be set is that the investigator understands someone who answers his question and who does not speak particularly unclearly. He should be able to follow in large outline communications concerning an event that has taken place. Details can be inquired into at the conclusion of the account. Brief statements between members of a household, exchanged in an offhand manner, will always remain difficult to understand. Only at the very end did I speak Makassarese in the presence of the Prince, and then only concerning a topic well known to me. In the formal court atmosphere a discourtesy is easily committed, and the taking of risks is unnecessary.

I did not notice any troublesome result caused by a bad effect on my contact with the environment through mistakes made in speaking. Those with whom the investigator works regularly get used to his /13/ accent, and, where contact based on mutual interest exists, grammatical mistakes become less important.

Technique of Investigation

oo It is possible to carry out an investigation, first of all, by having previously set-up questionnaires filled out, by regularly controlling the filling out, and by working out the answers obtained; secondly, by participating in the life of a community, by putting one's questions on the basis of the facts one has observed, and by working out the totality of the facts accordingly.

With the first method, the difficulty consists in setting up the questions. Those who set them up start out unconsciously

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i. e. the local karaeng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaeng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaeng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders: Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

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- 361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main
kampong, where the karaeng, imam and the mosque are
located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there
we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who
seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a
child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good,
was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered
place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about
three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the
house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd
things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see,
but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had
a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that
he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers
all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention
to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or
formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I
wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
- 123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have
stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases
there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we
talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of
plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by
Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was
evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They
were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man
was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again
including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused
by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a
meeting. The karaeng stands there but says nothing. Beside

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese.

Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

1000 ● 123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 177 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampung [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampung appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person.

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I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved.

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These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now.

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I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampung the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

- 123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I
always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just
a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across.
I said that in the United States we had large houses and big
buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the
principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for
struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to
work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that
they knew considerable about the United States as a result of
having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we
know nothing about Makassar.
- 272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala
kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time
about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to
strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good,
although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served
in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water
causes impotence, but the men drank it.
- 563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting
439 [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was
poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of
tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite
banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought
the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the
constructor of the building said that there was much trouble
nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying
f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I
commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they
laughed.
- 829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to
generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom
followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too
clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the
father was a smith, his son would be one also.
- 609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We
went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different.
He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is
close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just em-
barrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Ujung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kolllewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

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123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming
masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this
point. I said that they needed business education, and they
saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great
extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only
hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent
over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kam-
pong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it.
In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers
and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told
them about the Javanese using these without giving up Moham-
medanism, and although they could see the point they responded
in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This
also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge
training, although there are no such persons in this kampung.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampung speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.

562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None
speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach
classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They
saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over
Dutch because it is an international language. They said that
all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read
the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they
read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them
when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak
Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can
understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can under-
stand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman
characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say
all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I
wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about
this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the
farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but
368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
544 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling
library here before the war, and also a library in
Bone, but this was no longer the case.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very few indeed ever write. (The Minang bau man said that there are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not even write letters here. They did not know that their script came from India originally, and they were surprised when I gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach their own language to their children and the latter also learn Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children always have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propaganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone. They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Nevertheless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone go a lot. The prices are: f. 2 for the first [i. e., best seats--Analyst], f. 1 for the second, and f. 0.25 for the third. Most people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United States and England. They talk constantly about war films. Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during the war in the United States and which are just now getting into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang showed me that he had learned much about the United States from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy (accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist fighting.

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562 heard that the club-members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not
like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stop-
ped; this I think was because he was about to say something
about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against
this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even
for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably
matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other
things the system changed. Friedericy includes some in-
formation on the seventeenth century radja here who would no
longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matri-
local custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the
system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that
they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on
the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make
trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness
is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
587 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin.
It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and
not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried
women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower
or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble.
Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The
property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on
this matter. As for the relations between such families, they
are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own
family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They empha-
sized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that
perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M. as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampung said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampung or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampung, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampung Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.